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fully answered none. I know that such slight historical sketches as I have given are apt to be misleading. But if history is not to overwhelm us by the weight of its accumulated documents, we must at all costs try to take general views from time to time. All that I have attempted to do is to draw from the history of the past and from the circumstances of the present age a few thoughts which may quicken our ideas of citizenship, and enlarge for us the horizon of civic duty, and give us some sense of the abiding value of personality in building up the institutions and moulding the character of the nation in whose inheritance we have a part. "For a city is not walls, but men."

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PROFESSOR JOWETT.

THE admirable Memoir of Professor Jowett by Mr. Abbott and Professor Lewes Campbell has done nearly all that can be done to give an idea of his character and his work to those who have had no personal relations with him. In particular, they have brought very vividly before the public the strenuous continuity of effort by which he made himself one of the greatest of teachers and rendered his college the centre of the best intellectual life of Oxford. And this is, perhaps, the most important aspect of Jowett's work. His published writings, indeed, have had and still have great influence upon English thought. His work on the Epistles of Saint Paul was one of the first books in which the methods and results of German theological criticism were made familiar to English readers; and the essays on the character of Saint Paul, on the Atonement, on Casuistry, etc., were the first revelation of that vein of suggestive reflection which is characteristic of all Jowett's writing. His translation of the Dialogues of Plato, by the beauty and richness and appropriateness of the style, may be said to have made Plato an English classic; and the Introductions, apart from the illustration

which they throw upon Plato's train of thought, are full of a subtle and delicate criticism of life, a mixture of homely sagacity and philosophical insight, of sceptical criticism and moral idealism, which makes them no unworthy companion of the Platonic Dialogues. Yet, after all, Jowett was not one of those who can put their best into literature. His best achievement lay in the stimulating and pervasive influence which he exercised upon many generations of pupils, and in his steadfast and long-continued effort for the liberalizing of University life. He did more than any other man of his time to raise the ideal of University teaching and of the relation of teacher and pupil. But when we try to explain the secret of his influence, it is not easy to say anything definite. In truth, an original personality like Jowett is very difficult to describe. The general impression which he makes is unique and self-consistent, yet when we attempt to analyze it we seem to be putting down a mass of inconsistencies. In the light of his biography, however, it may be possible to make others than his friends to realize a little more clearly the strange union of different elements in his mind and character.

He was primarily a man of very sensitive temper, with the strong desire that usually goes with such a temper for the sympathy of others. At the same time, he was naturally shy, reserved, and unwilling, or even unable, to disclose himself unless he was sure of a response; and the effect of his manner, therefore, was at first somewhat chilling, especially to those who had any kindred tendency to reserve. Family difficulties, which have been explained or indicated in the Memoirs, tended at a comparatively early period to throw him upon his own guidance and to make him prematurely jealous to maintain his personal independence. And the general suspicion and distrust with which he was for a long time regarded by the society to which he belonged helped to produce or to increase in him a sense of isolation, which might easily have turned to bitterness if he had not had the strength of character to rise above it. As it was, he took refuge in a narrow circle of friends, consisting mainly of his

own pupils, and threw his whole energy into the work of teaching and guiding them. Yet even in dealing with his pupils his method was peculiar to himself. Notwithstanding his wide knowledge of classical literature and philosophy, he was not one of those teachers who are filled with new ideas as to their subject and who infect others with their own interest in it. He seemed rather to adopt a critical attitude towards those whom he taught, to observe and study them, to set himself to check false tendencies in them, and to stimulate them in the direction in which he thought they would be most effective. He was eagerly watchful for indications of capacity, and wherever he discerned it, he made large demands, and would hardly admit any plea of inability to realize them. I think all pupils of Jowett agree in this description of his watchful and *exigeant* attitude towards them. Of course, he sometimes made mistakes in the tasks he sought to impose upon individuals, but he was not much dissatisfied if they took other lines than he recommended, provided always they showed efficiency in some direction. He was always hopeful where he saw any kind of energy, and he often showed an unusual liking and tolerance for *mauvais sujets* who had this redeeming quality. This method of his rendered it possible for him to influence and help men of the most varied characters and tendencies; but he was, perhaps, most successful with men of a temperament opposite to his own, who were not thrown back upon themselves by his reserve and his leaving the initiative so much in their hands. Yet almost invariably—at least during the years when he was a college tutor and therefore in close individual intercourse with those whom he taught—he established very close and enduring relations of friendship with his pupils. His real interest in their progress both in and beyond the University, and his delicate remembrance and appreciation of their circumstances, inevitably produced a sense of gratitude and a personal regard such as is seldom felt for even the best of teachers.

In a generally appreciative account of Jowett, Mr. Swinburne quotes in relation to him the phrase of Sir Walter

Scott,—“ After all, the man was mortal and had been a school-master.” There is a point in the joke, though a harmless one. There was nothing pedantic or assuming in Jowett ; but his personal attitude to his friends was undoubtedly affected by the fact that he had so long absorbed himself in the work of a college tutor and that so many of his friends were his former pupils. In reading over his letters one is conscious that he lived under a certain strain of responsibility, and that he was always thinking how by warning or encouragement he might give a stimulus to their energies. Though often masked by humor or playfulness, there rarely fails some word aimed with subtle intention and intelligent sympathy at the strength or weakness of his correspondent. This freedom of speech, however, rarely gave offence, supported as it was by an evident personal interest in those he was addressing. The superficial sympathy we usually give to our friends is often one of the cheapest forms of self-indulgence, and it is something rare to meet with one who refuses to sympathize except on the highest terms, or whose sympathy is at the same time a kind of demand that we should continue to deserve it. Jowett’s motto was always, “ Love without weakness.”

Jowett’s intellectual characteristics it is perhaps even harder to describe. Like many men at the present time, he started with certain strong beliefs which he had gradually to disentangle from their earliest form and to remould by conscious reflection. Born in a circle which was deeply influenced by the methodistic pietism of the last century, he retained throughout life much of its religious spirit, even when he had ceased to hold by many of the doctrines of its creed. Hence, he never could see in Sacerdotalism anything but superstition ; or, if for a time he was impressed by the early fervors of the Tractarian movement, he very soon reacted against it. His religious feeling was concentrated upon the inner life, and hardly depended in any degree upon outward forms ; and his creed tended with the advance of years to become less definite and to gather itself up in one or two comprehensive articles—in a belief in the existence of God and in the

Christ-ideal. It may be said of him in the language of Tennyson, who, perhaps, gave the nearest expression to Jowett's religious ideas, that "his faith had centre everywhere, nor cared to fix itself to form." He had learnt the full lesson of modern criticism on its negative side, and did not much trust its attempts at reconstruction; and what he substituted for the positive doctrines of which it deprived him was not a new system of belief, but rather an intuitive apprehension of the ethical and religious aspects of life. This practical faith of his showed itself in many subtle and penetrative utterances, but he never tried, and never perhaps cared, to reduce it to one connected and coherent statement. In fact, his mind had no affinity for system of any kind, and having cast off his early dogmatism, he hardly felt the need of any substitute for it. Thus he seemed to find it easiest to breathe in an atmosphere of thought which was too rare for others, and the effort after system and connection of ideas appeared to him rather as an attempt to bind the spirit than as the satisfaction of an intellectual want. His treatment of great questions never takes the form of an attempt to think them out consecutively, but rather of a series of glances at truth from various points of view, even sometimes from points of view somewhat inconsistent with each other (a good example may be found in his remarks on the ideal and the real Christ given on p. 85 of the "Life," vol. ii., or those on "The New Christianity" on p. 311 of the same volume). Perhaps we might express his mental attitude by saying that he had a sense or feeling of the whole, but that he had no definite wish or tendency to raise this feeling into thought. Hence, what was for him a satisfactory expression of his convictions might seem to others like a collection of *ἀπορίαι*, or conflicting views that wait for reconciliation. From philosophy, especially the philosophies of Plato and Hegel, he gained much, but he seemed hardly to care for their dialectic or for their effort after intellectual synthesis, but only for their manifold views of life and their fertile suggestions as to man's spiritual nature and history. What indeed he prized most in other writers was what is the best in his own work, the inspired gleams of

insight, the vivid and epigrammatic expressions of particular aspects of truth, and he prized them still more if they were lighted up with a touch of humor.

In modification of this view it may be stated—what the biography has made clear—that there was a considerable though gradual change in Jowett's intellectual attitude as he grew older. In the earlier part of his life he was eager to direct students to the new sources of thought opened by the German philosophy and theology. It may be said that for many years the leading interest of his life and the chief object of his writings was that the Church of England should be brought face to face with the results of science and historical criticism, and should be prepared to accept any change in the traditional views which was necessitated thereby. The greatest danger to the religious and ethical life of England, he was never weary of repeating, lay in a rooted carelessness about the truth. His attitude of mind is very vividly presented in some of the letters written at the time when he was contemplating the project of a second series of "Essays and Reviews." (See xxii., pp. 440-444.) Nor can it be said that at any time he substantially modified, still less directly renounced, this way of thinking. But it can hardly be doubted that after he became Master of the College, the practical tendency gained more and more predominance over the speculative or scientific tendency. The question, "What will make these young men effective and useful in their future life?" seemed to become all-important, till it hardly left room for an interest—or, at least, for the former keenness of interest—in truth for itself. This was even a cause of difference as to the methods of education between him and men like Green who agreed with him most nearly in their general aims of life. In particular, Jowett became increasingly jealous of metaphysical and theological speculation, which seemed to him often to carry men away so far from the beaten path that they ceased to be able to reconcile themselves to the conditions of the ordinary work of life. And he was not willing to admit that any such danger must be incurred in teaching them to live for ideal aims. In connection with this I may refer to a curious double im-

pression which Jowett produced upon those around him. To many who did not come into very close relations with him, he seemed to be too much a man of the world, whose highest aim for those in whom he was interested lay in the direction of outward and tangible success, first in the schools and then in their profession. He seemed even to allow his personal judgment of individuals to be too much affected by such success. On the other hand, upon his inner circle of friends he produced a unique impression of unworldliness, of delicate purity of soul, and remoteness from ordinary motives. Both impressions were founded upon truth. Jowett certainly lived, if any one ever lived, the ideal life, in continual effort after perfection in himself and others. In not a few of his later letters he seems even to rejoice, like Plato's Cephalos, in old age, because of its freedom from selfish fears and hopes, almost because it leaves nothing to live for but the good of others. Yet on the other hand he seemed in thinking of the future life of his pupils to cling to immediate advantages and successes, to regard them as the main opportunities for efficiency and usefulness, and to be nervously afraid of any line of study or action which would bring with it an immediate failure. The real source, however, of this apparent worldliness of view was the fear lest young men should waste life in dreams or mar it by impracticableness. It may be doubted whether in some cases Jowett did not carry this fear too far and give legitimate ground for misunderstanding. But the mistake, if it was a mistake, was mainly due to an effort to get beyond the usual conventional separation of the Church from the world or of the pursuit of ideal ends from practical usefulness.

Jowett was one of the few men who leave upon us the distinct stamp of an individual force without any weakening of the outline by the intrusion of what is conventional and commonplace. His intellectual and moral originality, his single-minded devotion to public ends,—above all, to the well-being of the University and the College over which he presided,—his integrity and consistency with himself, his great powers of working and getting others to work for the objects he sought, his wonderful memory for the characters and cir-

cumstances of his old pupils and his steadfast interest in their welfare—these, with all the individual traits of severity and gentleness, of earnestness and humor, which characterized him, indelibly impressed the image of his personality upon all with whom he was brought into near relations. Perhaps not the least remarkable of his gifts, and that which prevented him from being ever less than himself, was his courage. Few men had a better claim to have inscribed on their graves the epitaph which the Regent Morton pronounced upon John Knox: “Here lies one who never feared the face of mortal man.” So marked a character and so resolute a will could not fail sometimes to excite opposition, and oftentimes to be misunderstood. Some found him a dangerous opponent, others a severe critic who did not hesitate to say what he thought without sparing or disguise; and he had undoubtedly imperious ways, which excited a natural irritation. But no one could come near enough to see him as he really was without being impressed with the purity and dignity of his character and the fixity of his resolve to subordinate every personal consideration to public ends. His so-called worldliness was, as I have indicated, in the main due to a persistent effort to bring ideal aims into the practical life of the world. Perhaps in this point of view we might fairly regard him as one of the first examples of a new type of human character in which the sagacity and efficiency of the man of the world was combined with a devotion to the well-being of others such as has not often been surpassed by any of the Saints.

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